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netted bags and fishing nets. In the Little Andaman it is used for binding their arrows, as well as for netting. 824 283

The most valuable fibre of the Great Andaman tribes is that of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for string and thread and for bow-strings. Until recent times the method of preparing the fibre was not known to the natives of the Little Andaman, but they have now learnt it from the natives of the Great Andaman with whom they have been brought in contact, and the use of the fibre for string and thread is coming in amongst them.

The fibre is not easy to prepare. Long thin branches of the creeper are cut, which must be neither too young nor too old. To obtain these it is often necessary to climb up into high trees, for the *Anadendron* is a climbing plant. The creeper is cut into lengths of from 20 to 40 cm. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off these in strips of from 7 to 10 mm. in width. A strip of the bark is taken and placed on the thigh, inner surface downwards, and is scraped with a *Cyrena* shell until the outer bark is entirely removed and the fibres remain clean and separate. These are dried in the sun or over a fire and, if not needed for immediate use, are stored for future occasion. The fibre is fine and of a light greyish brown colour. In its qualities it somewhat resembles ramie fibre. It is extremely strong.

There are a number of other trees and plants that are known by the natives to afford fibre, but they are not used, or if they are, it is extremely rarely.

The Andaman jungles have a number of different species of *Calamus*, and the canes or rattans of these are put to all sorts of uses, such as the making of baskets, the lashings and furnishings of canoes, and in building huts. In the Little Andaman one species of cane is used to provide the fibre for women's belts. The outer skin is removed and the remainder of the cane is divided into fine strips or threads. A bundle of these tied together constitutes the belt worn by the women of the Little Andaman. The outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus* is used by the natives of the Great Andaman Division for making mats. Lengths of the leaf-stem are cut and the outer skin is removed in strips of about 3 to 5 mm. in width. The still adhering pith is removed with a *Cyrena* shell, and the strips are dried in the sun and then made into mats. 824 285 [501] [291]

The leaf-stem of a species of palm is cut while green and is then shredded into long strips. The fibre thus obtained really consists of the leaflets of the young unopened leaves of the palm. It is used in the 824 291

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283 necessary for string made from *Gnetum* fibre or from *Hibiscus scandens*.

Ornamental rope is made for men's belts in the Great Andaman. *Hibiscus* fibre is twisted into a single strand. Around this strand strips of *Dendrobium* skin are wound spirally so that it is entirely covered, and the strand itself is twisted into a two-ply cord.

Two other forms of cord have been already mentioned, namely the bow-string, of twisted fibre of the *Ficus laccifera* in the Little Andaman, and of wrapped fibre of the *Anadendron* in the Great Andaman Division, and the special cord used in the Great Andaman for attaching the head of a pig-arrow to the shaft. The Andamanese make very little use of plaited cord. I have only met with it in personal ornaments made of *Pandanus* leaf in the Great Andaman.

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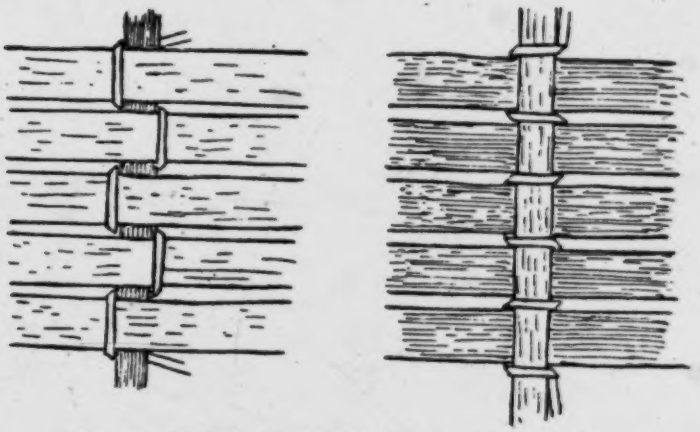

Fig. 29. Method of making bamboo mat, Little Andaman

The mat-work of the Andamanese is very simple. The natives of the Little Andaman make bamboo mats on which they sleep. Strips of bamboo of about 120 cm. in length and ·75 cm. in width are attached by means of thin strips of cane to other strips of bamboo at right angles to the first series. The technique is illustrated in Fig. 29 which shows the back and the front of a portion of such a mat. It is that usually known as wrapped-twined work.

A similar technique is used in both the Little Andaman and the Great Andaman in making thatching of cane-leaves. There is a difference, however, the wrapping used in making thatch being that shown diagrammatically in Fig. 30.

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The natives of the Great Andaman make sleeping mats from the outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus*. Lengths of the material are prepared and cleaned and are cut to a uniform length, generally about 60 to 80 cm., having a breadth of 3 to 5 mm. A length

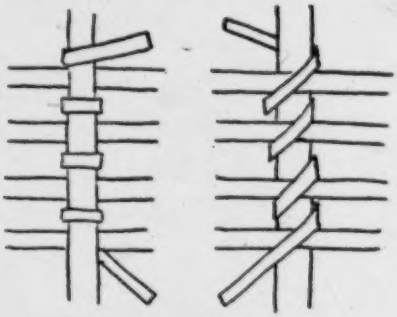

Fig. 30. Diagram showing the technique used in making mats of thatch

of thread, generally of the less valuable *Gnetum* fibre, but occasionally of *Anadendron* fibre, is made and is wound on to two netting needles, one half on each. With this thread the strips of cane-leaf are fastened together. The technique is different in the North Andaman and in the South Andaman.

In the North the technique, which is represented diagrammatically in Fig. 31, *A* is that known as wrapped-twined work. One of the two threads of which the work is composed is held taut, the needle on

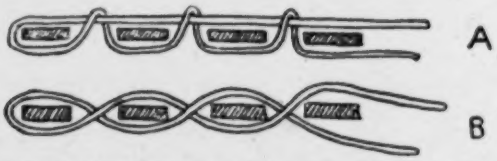

Fig. 31. Diagram showing the technique used in Great Andaman mats
A, North Andaman; *B*, South Andaman

which it is wound being held in the toes, and the other thread is wrapped spirally round it, one of the strips of cane-leaf sheath being enclosed at every turn. Thus the method is exactly the same as that adopted in making mats of thatch.

In the South the technique is that known as twined work or fitching. The two wefts (i.e. the threads) are twisted together in the same direction one under the other, enclosing at each half turn one of the strips of leaf-sheath. This is shown diagrammatically in Fig. 31, *B*.

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285 The mat is made by parallel lines of such twining or wrapped-twining. At each side of the mat the line of threading is quite close to the ends of the strips of which the mat is made. In the South Andaman the work on each side of the mat is different from that in the middle. Each of the two threads is alternately given a complete turn round one of the strips of material.

Mats may be of any length, and examples vary from 1 metre to 10 metres. When in use about a metre and a half is unrolled and the remainder serves as a pillow. If the mat be short a split log does service as a pillow instead, but the full-length mat is certainly a more comfortable bed. When a mat begins to wear or fall to pieces in some part it is not thrown away, but this part is kept rolled up, and an unbroken part of the mat is unrolled to sleep on, the remainder being kept rolled up either at the head, where it forms a pillow, or at the foot. An old mat may be continually increased in length by additions made to it. The work of making these mats is performed by women only.

The Jarawa and the natives of the Little Andaman make mats of a somewhat similar pattern, but I have not been able to secure one so as to see how it is made.

To explain the different forms of the Andamanese baskets, it is most convenient to begin by considering the way in which the natives of the North Andaman tie up their pots. The small cooking-pots of the North Andaman are fragile things and are not easily made, and it is therefore necessary to take care of them. A leaf of the *Licuala* palm is taken. The leaflets are plaited over one another, close to the point of their insertion in the petiole, so as to form a sort of rosette with leaflets radiating from it in every direction (Fig. 32 *a*). This is laid on the ground, the pot is placed on it upside down, and the leaflets are brought up all round the pot so as to meet at the point, and are there roughly fastened. Three strips of cane are then taken and are tied together crossways in the middle so as to form a sort of six-rayed star with six approximately equal angles. This is laid on the ground with the outer surface of the canes downwards, the pot is placed on it upside down, and the strips of cane are bent upwards over the pot so as to meet at the point. The ends of two opposite strips of cane are left projecting for a few centimetres above the point, and the ends of the other four are fastened firmly down. Another strip of cane is now fastened round the middle of the pot, being applied to the six canes previously mentioned by wrapping, i.e. a turn is taken with it round each of the six strips in turn. The pot is now safely tied up and can be hung in the hut or

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carried on a journey without much fear of its coming to grief. To use the pot it is of course necessary to untie it. A pot wrapped up in this way is shown in Fig. 32 *a* and *b*. 285

In the South Andaman the pots have rounded bottoms. They are not tied up in the same way as in the North Andaman, but for purposes of safety and carriage each pot is provided with a rude basket. The basket is made so as to fit the pot. Six strips of cane are taken and tied together in the middle, as previously described. A stout strip of

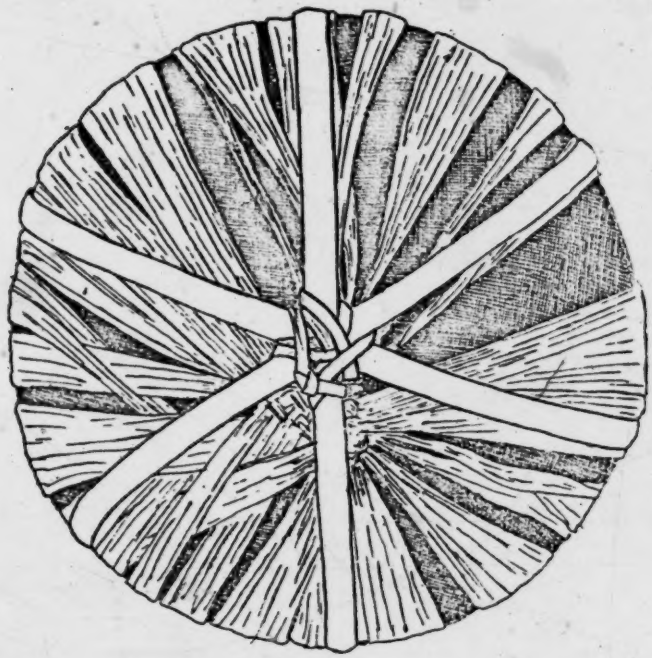

Fig. 32 *a*

cane is then taken and is bent round into a circle so as to be just a little larger than the outside rim of the pot. This, which is to form the rim of the basket, is placed in position and the six strips of cane before mentioned are bent round and attached to it. The manner of attaching the uprights of the basket to the rim is shown in Fig. 33. The strip of cane forming the upright is thinned down beyond the point where it reaches the rim. It is given one turn round the rim, ascending on the outside and descending inside, then a half turn round the standing part of itself, immediately below the rim from left to right, then another

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285 complete turn round the rim ascending inside and descending outside, a half turn behind its own standing part below the rim, a third complete turn round the rim, and the end is fastened with an overhand knot.

A thinner strip of cane is now taken and wound round the six uprights (the warp of the basket) being given a turn round one after

Fig. 32 *b*. Pot, tied up for carrying, North Andaman

another. The technique is that known as wrapped work. If the strip be not long enough another is joined to it with a reef or sailor's knot. The weft (as this thinner strip may be called) is given five or six spiral turns, and thus leaves a very open and rather weak basket. The basket is then further strengthened by other strips of cane attached by one end

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to the rim and carried downwards, with one turn round each of the horizontal canes (weft) and the other end attached to the centre of the bottom of the basket. A strip of cane or bark is attached to the rim by its two ends to provide a strap by which the basket with its pot may be carried on the back. Before the pot is placed in it the basket is lined with the leaflets of the *Licuala* palm.

We may now turn to the baskets of the Little Andaman, of which there are two varieties, one made with more care than the other. As regards shape both varieties are the same, and the shape is exactly that of the Little Andaman pots.

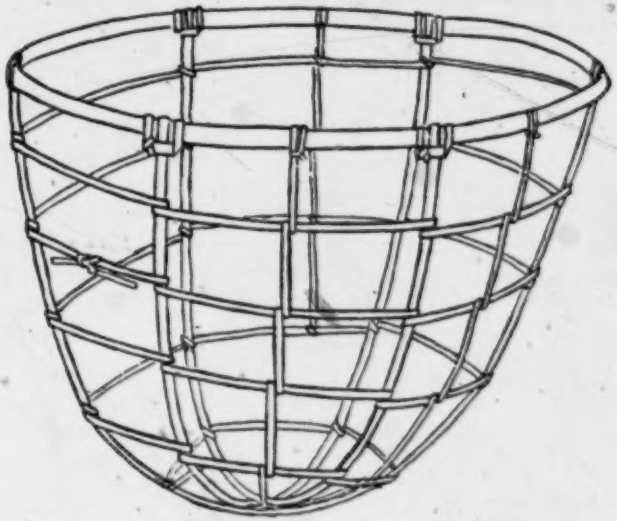

Fig. 33. Basket for carrying pot, South Andaman

The following is a description of a small but typical specimen of the better variety of Little Andaman basket. The foundation consists of twelve whole canes. A little under 80 cm. of the cane is left whole, and at each end it is thinned down to a strip. The twelve canes are taken in four bundles of three each and placed so as to cross each other in the middle. They are bent into a somewhat conical shape, and the ends (where the cane is thinned) are attached to a rim composed of a whole cane bent into a circle and tied. The method by which each of the uprights or stakes is attached to the rim is shown in Fig. 34. It is almost identical with that used in the South Andaman pot basket. The weaving is then begun near the bottom of the basket. A thin strip

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285 of the outside of a cane is taken, and is applied to the uprights (warp or stakes) by wrapped work, i.e. it is given a complete turn round each of them in turn. This wrapped weaving is continued spirally from near the bottom of the basket to near the rim. Near the top of the basket, between 4 and 5 cm. from the rim, the weaving is so arranged that for about three-quarters of the way round the basket there is a gap of about 1·5 cm. between two rows of weft (see Fig. 34). The purpose of this will be mentioned later. The basket now consists of a rim to which are attached twelve uprights forming the warp of the basket, around which a fine strip of cane has been spirally wrapped from the bottom to the top. Twelve fine strips of the outside of a

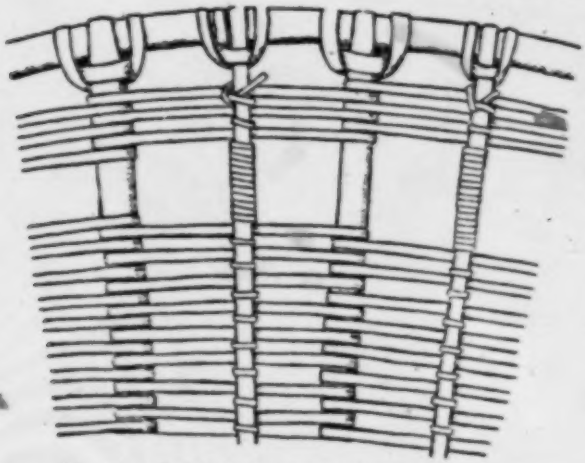

Fig. 34. Portion of basket of Little Andaman

cane are now taken. One end of each is fastened to the rim in between two of the stakes, the mode of fastening being shown in Fig. 34. The strip is then carried down the basket, on the outside, as far as the bottom row of weaving, round which it is doubled, and is then wound spirally, from the bottom to the top of the basket, around its own standing part, including at each spiral turn one of the wefts. Thus each of these twelve strips of cane is attached to the outside of the basket by the process known as wrapped-twined work. The basket is furnished with a handle of bark fibre which is attached by its two ends to the rim on that side where there is no gap between the rows of weft near the top.

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In the less carefully made baskets of the Little Andaman there are a few important differences. The stakes of the basket are not thin whole canes, but are strips of larger canes. The weft is applied in wrapped work, as in the basket already described, but the rows of weft are not so close together and are therefore not so numerous. After the first process, when the basket consists of stakes and horizontal (spiral) weft only, vertical strengthening strips are added, but these are applied, not in wrapped-twined work as in the basket described, but in wrapped work, in exactly the same way as in the South Andaman pot-basket. Thus, apart from its shape, which is that of the Little Andaman pot, the Little Andaman basket of this kind is very similar to the South Andaman pot-basket.

The natives of the Little Andaman make pots that are much larger and deeper than those of the South Andaman, and have a more rounded bottom than those of the North Andaman. For every pot a basket is made that exactly fits it, and in this basket it is stored and carried. Every basket that is made in the Little Andaman, whether it be used for carrying a pot or for any other purpose, is made of exactly the same shape.

The purpose of the gap that is left near the top of the basket as described above is in order that strips of string or fibre may be tied across the mouth of the basket, from side to side, in order to keep its contents safe.

We may now return to the Great Andaman and consider the baskets of the South Andaman Group of tribes. These are made from the best canes. From 80 to 120 fine strips of cane are taken which are to form the stakes or uprights. A slight hollow is made in the ground, and the strips of cane are placed crossways across one another in this hollow, the inner surfaces of the canes being downwards. As the strips are being arranged, and when the weaving is begun, the centre, i.e., the point where the strips cross one another in the middle of the hollow, is pressed firmly beneath the heel so as to maintain them in position. The first few strips are sometimes tied together in the middle, but this is not always done. When all the strips are arranged evenly the weaving of the basket is begun with a length of thread, which is slewed in and out between the strips of cane, beginning as near the centre as possible, the stroke being that of ordinary wicker-work. After four or five spiral turns have been taken with the thread it is fastened. The bottom of the basket is then reversed, the stakes being bent over, and the weaving proper is begun with a fine strip of cane.

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285 This is applied by wicker-work nearly as far as the top of the basket. At the top, the weaving is finished off with three or four spiral turns of wrapped-twined work in cane (see Fig. 35). The rim of the basket is formed of a thin piece of wood (circular in section) bent round into a circle of the right size and the two ends tied together. The stakes or uprights are attached to this rim (after the weaving is finished) but a space of about 5 cm. is left between the top of the weaving and

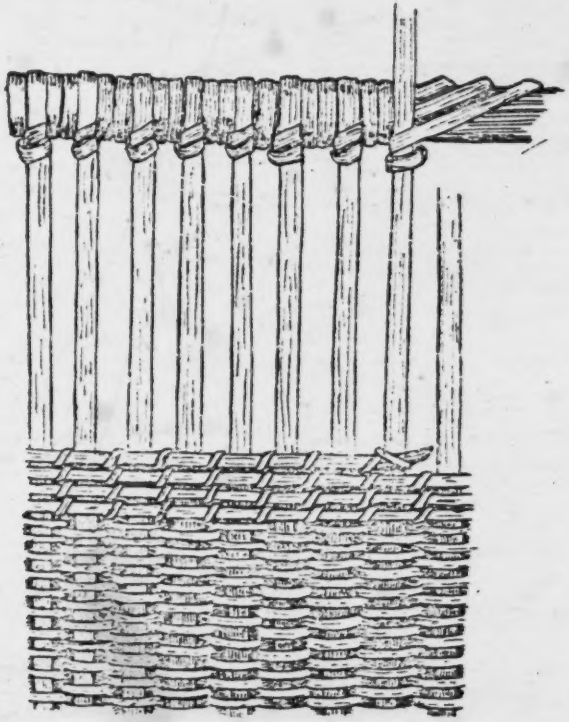

Fig. 35. Portion of basket of South Andaman

the rim. The mode of attaching the uprights to the rim is shown in Fig. 35.

The South Andaman basket is really a conical basket with the bottom reversed or dented inwards to form a "kick" like the kick of a bottle. If it were not for the kick it would be the same shape as the Little Andaman basket. The kick enables it to stand upright, although it is inclined to be top-heavy, but renders it unfit for carrying pots.

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The space between the top of the weaving and the rim is to admit of strings being tied across the mouth of the basket to keep its contents safe.

A handle of *Hibiscus* fibre is attached to the rim and rests across the front of the chest when the basket is carried on the back.

South Andaman baskets are sometimes ornamented, in the process of making, with strips of *Dendrobium* skin, applied horizontally by overlaid interlacing. The strip of *Dendrobium* skin is laid over the weft and woven in with it for one turn round the basket. I have never seen ornamentation with *Dendrobium* skin applied to the South Andaman baskets by any method save this one.

Patterns of red paint and white clay are occasionally painted on baskets when they are newly made. Shells are sometimes attached to different parts of the basket by thread, for the purpose of ornament.

In the North Andaman, baskets are made that differ in several important features from those of the South Andaman. They are not made of cane but of two different materials. One of these is the stem of a creeper called *čup-ṭoi*. Lengths of the creeper are cut and dried and then split lengthways into two or three pieces according to their size. The outer bark or skin is then scraped off with a *Cyrena* shell. These strips are to form the stakes or warp of the basket. The other material is another creeper called *bobi*. The long tough tendrils of this plant are taken and the soft outer sheath removed by drawing the tendril through a piece of split cane or bamboo bent double so that the tendril is scraped between the two inner surfaces. The fibre that remains is split longitudinally into two pieces and dried.

A bundle of strips of the *čup-ṭoi* is taken, sufficient in length and number for the required size of basket. The bundle is divided into two equal bundles and these are tied together in the middle crossways with thread. This cross forms the beginning of the basket. The weaving is begun with thread, which is slewed in and out between the warp, from 4 to 7 spiral turns being made. During this process the centre of the basket, i.e., the cross, is pressed beneath the heel into a slight hollow made in the ground, to give it a curve which, in the finished basket, will form the "kick." The thread is tied, the bottom is turned upside down, the stakes are bent back and the weaving is continued, not with thread but with strips of *bobi*, till a short distance from the top of the basket, and then three or four rows of wrapped-twined work are made, the strip of *bobi* being coiled round the basket and attached to the uprights with thread. A rim is made of a strip of cane bent into a circle. This is placed inside the uprights and

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285 tied to them in two or three places. The remaining portion of each of the uprights, projecting above the rim, is bent down outside and slightly obliquely, and tied down by a thread passing over each in turn and round the rim. A very rough and untidy rim is thus produced, and this is again served or bound over with thread. A handle of *Hibiscus* fibre is added.

In the North Andaman baskets, as in those of the South Andaman, a space of a few centimetres is left between the top of the weaving and the rim, there being for that space only warp or uprights and no weft. This allows string to be tied in any direction across the mouth of the basket, so as to keep its contents safe.

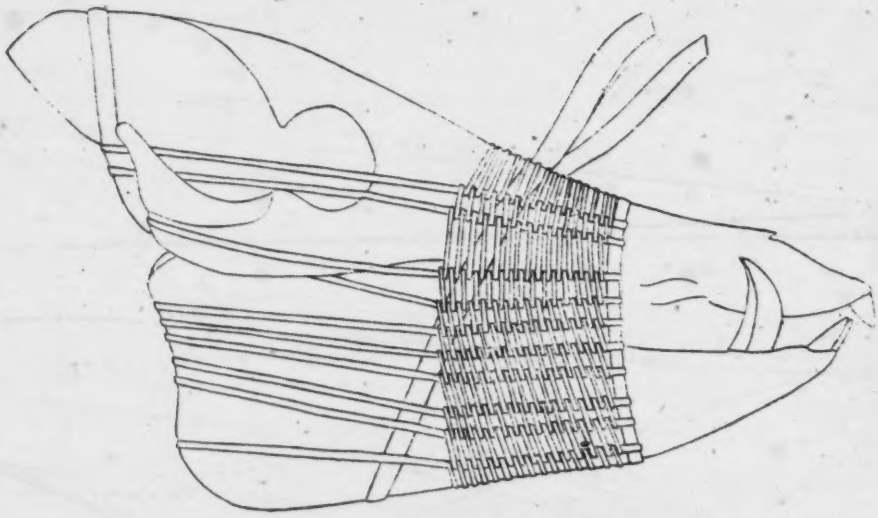

Fig. 36. Pig's skull with basket-work, Jarawa

The shape of the North Andaman baskets is different from that of the southern baskets, the former having a sort of belly at the bottom and narrowing somewhat above. The result is that the northern baskets will stand more firmly, being less top-heavy when either full or empty than those of the south.

In the North Andaman baskets are ornamented as they are made with worked-in strips of *Dendrobium* fibre. There are several different methods of working this ornamentation, resulting in different patterns. Baskets are also ornamented, when new, with painted patterns in white and red, though this is not general, and occasionally shells are attached to them by thread.

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One more form of basket-work remains to be briefly mentioned. The natives of all parts of the islands were formerly in the habit of preserving as trophies the skulls of pigs and turtle that were killed in the chase. The natives of the Great Andaman Division do not now trouble to preserve all the skulls of the pigs they kill, and they give as their reason for this that now that they have dogs the hunting of pigs is not a sport that requires any great skill. The Jarawa however still keep up the old custom, and they go so far as carefully to encase every skull in basket-work. As may be seen from Fig. 36 the basket-work in question is of simple wrapped work, the material being strips of cane.

It is of some interest to consider the different forms of technique used by the Andamanese in dealing with flexible materials. Rope and string are only made two-ply. It would seem that the Andamanese have not discovered that three-ply cord is stronger for a given diameter than two-ply. They have, in the bow-string of the Great Andaman, an interesting form of cord that may perhaps best be described as wrapped cord. The making of a rope involves the twisting of two strands of material around one another. The making of a wrapped cord involves the spiral wrapping of one strand of material round another. This is exactly the same process as "serving," and it is one that is used by the Andamanese in all sorts of ways. In serving their arrows with thread and in serving the ends of bows and the heads of harpoons the Andamanese have several different methods of making fast the ends, and I regret that I did not take more detailed notes on this subject. Their skill in handling this technique is shown in the strength of the binding on their arrows.

This spiral wrapping of one strand round a flexible or rigid object lies at the base of much else in their technique. We have seen that they make considerable use of wrapped-twined work. In this work a strip of material crosses at right angles a number of strips of the same or other material, and a weft is wound round the former, taking in one of the latter at each turn. There are two methods of doing this, either by simple spiral wrapping, as in the mats of thatch, or by what may be called "right and left" or "zig-zag" wrapping, as in the bamboo mat of the Little Andaman. A difference is also made according as the strip of material around which the weft is wrapped is rigid, as in the Little Andaman bamboo mat or in thatching, or flexible, as in the North Andaman mat, where it is one thread while the weft is another thread.

Wrapped work, in which a strip of weft is wound successively round one after another of a number of rigid stakes, is another very simple

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285 process that is employed in a number of different ways by the Andamanese. The most important development of wrapped work amongst them is seen in the pot-basket of the South Andaman, in the baskets of the Jarawa and Little Andaman and in the pig's-skull basket-work of the Jarawa.

Simple twined work is rare in the Andamans. There is hardly any example of it except in the mats of the South Andaman. It would seem probable that the North Andaman mat technique of wrapped-twined work is the earlier, being more in agreement with what we may call the technical habits of the Andamanese, and that the South Andaman mat technique is a later elaboration. In this connection it may be remembered that plaiting, in which also several wefts are twisted one over another, is rarely used in the Andamans.

The process of nippering, by which the natives of the Great Andaman make the cord of their pig-arrows, and the somewhat similar process used in the Little Andaman in making personal ornaments, are quite in accordance with the general trend of the technique, but when such a process is applied to a number of parallel strips of material instead of to two only it constitutes a step towards wicker-work. It is notable, however, that it is only in the Great Andaman that wicker-work is used, and this suggests that it has only been invented or adopted since the separation of the two divisions of the Andamanese.

285 171 It is very tempting to regard the different forms of basket, in the order in which they are described above, as so many stages of a process of evolution. It is, at any rate, worth while to state the argument, and to show what the differences between them exactly are. In the North Andaman pot-covering we have (1) the technique simple wrapped work, and (2) the basis six strips of cane tied together in the middle. In the South Andaman pot-basket we have both these features, but the difference in the shape of the pots allows them to be carried in a true basket and we have therefore (3) a rim, with (4) a peculiar method of attaching the uprights to the rim, (5) a number of horizontal (wrapped) wefts instead of one or two, and (6) strengthening strips applied to the horizontal wefts in wrapped work. In the rougher kind of basket made in the Little Andaman we have nearly all the features of the South Andaman pot-basket. The only differences, apart from the shape of the basket, which in each case follows the shape of the pot, are (2) more than six uprights may be used, and (5) the number of horizontal wefts, i.e. the number of spiral turns taken round the basket, is as a rule greater. In the more carefully made Little Andaman basket there are

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several differences. The uprights are fine whole canes instead of strips of split cane. It is undoubtedly more difficult to procure whole canes of the proper size than simply to split up larger canes, but where the technique is wrapped work the circular section of the uprights improves the quality of the resulting basket, as a strip of cane is more easily wound round a whole cane than round a split cane, and there is less chance of it breaking when a strain is put upon it. Another difference is that in the better Little Andaman baskets the rows of weft are as close together as the peculiar technique will allow. This makes a finer and stronger basket, and is an obvious improvement. The third difference is that in these baskets the strengthening strips are applied not in wrapped work, but in wrapped-twined work, which, however, we have seen is a common technique in the Andamans. In the better baskets of the Little Andaman we find a special feature of some interest in the gap that is left in the weaving near the rim, to allow of strings being tied across the mouth.

When we look at the South Andaman basket the first thing that strikes us is that it is really a conical basket of much the same shape as the Little Andaman basket, but with the bottom dented in to make a kick, so allowing the basket to stand on its bottom. This denting is only rendered possible, however, by the fact that the uprights of the South Andaman basket are thin strips of cane that can be easily bent, and this again depends on the use of wicker-work in the basket instead of wrapped work. It must be remembered that the top of the weaving is finished off with three rows of wrapped-twined work, and this suggests that there may possibly have been a stage of development between the Little Andaman basket and the South Andaman form, in which the uprights were thin strips of cane, and the weft was applied in wrapped-twined work from top to bottom. This, however, is only a surmise. It does certainly seem probable that the South Andaman basket is derived immediately from a form of basket similar to that of the Little Andaman, the great difference being the change to wicker-work technique. The method of attaching the uprights to the rim was doubtless introduced owing to the fact that the original method is unsatisfactory when the uprights are thin and easily broken strips, instead of stout ones.

The North Andaman basket seems to have been derived from one similar to that of the South Andaman by the introduction of two changes, (1) the use of different materials, and (2) the change of shape. The materials used in the north are such as to give a basket on the whole stronger and more durable than that of the south. If a heavy

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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weight be carried in a southern basket the pressure of the basket on the back tends to crack the canes of which it is composed. In the case of a northern basket it may lose its shape, but the materials of which it is composed will give or bend without cracking so readily. The shape of the northern basket is certainly an improvement, as it avoids the top-heaviness of the southern shape. Both the northern and the southern baskets have a gap between the top of the weaving and the rim, like the basket of the Little Andaman.

Thus every step, or nearly every step, in a hypothetical process of evolution is exhibited in the different forms of basket-work. First we have the pot-covering of the North Andaman, then the pot-basket of the South Andaman, then the rougher kind of Little Andaman basket, of the same shape as the pot, then the South Andaman basket of cane with a kick and finally the basket of the North Andaman. The better kind of Little Andaman basket is simply an independent improvement of the other, involving no new technique.

However much or little probability we may attach to this hypothetical reconstruction of the history of basket-work in the Andamans, one thing does seem fairly certain, and that is that the original ancestors of the Andamanese were not acquainted with wicker-work, or had no use for it. In the Little Andaman Division only wrapped work and wrapped-twined work are used, and the wicker-work of the Great Andaman Division has almost certainly been adopted since the two divisions were separated. The consideration of the general technical bias of the Andamanese in their dealings with flexible materials supports the view that in their case wicker-work is later than wrapped work and wrapped-twined work. It seems more than likely that the Andamanese of the larger island have invented wicker-work in its simplest form on the basis of a previous technique of wrapped and wrapped-twined work. To us wicker-work seems such a simple process as almost to need no inventing. It must be recognized however that the general bias of the Andamanese is against using materials in this way. The Andaman Islander shows a decided preference for those processes in which he uses a single flexible material which he winds or wraps round other rigid or flexible material, as in nippering, or wrapped work or wrapped-twined work.

It is impossible to obtain confirmation of this view, however, from a comparison of the Andamanese with the Semang and the Philippine Negritos. The Semang make mat-work bags and wallets of check, and they make (or use) baskets of hexagonal work. Both check and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

hexagonal work are used by other races in the Malay Peninsula and in Malaysia generally. The present mats and baskets of the Semang cannot therefore be regarded as original Negrito productions. They have almost certainly been adopted through contact with other cultures.

The same thing would seem to apply to the present basket-work of the Philippine Negritos, of which however we know very little.

Netted bags of string are made by the women of both the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman Divisions, and are used for carrying or storing small objects such as shells, fruit, roots, etc. The string used for these is made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* in the Little

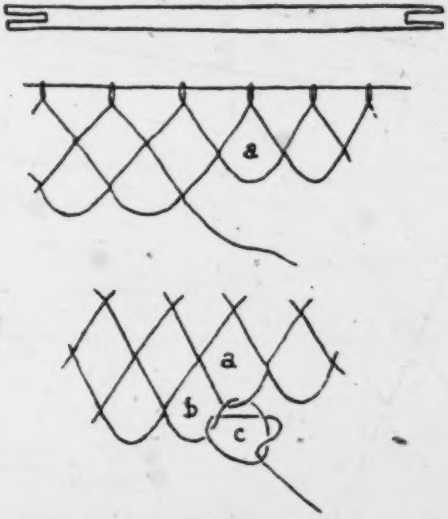

Fig. 37. Diagram showing netting needle, and method of netting

Andaman, and is generally made from the same fibre in the Great Andaman, but in the latter division the fibre of *Hibiscus scandens* is prized for this purpose and is used instead of that of the *Gnetum* when it is available. Small hand fishing nets are made by the women in both divisions from thread of *Gnetum* fibre. In the Great Andaman Division netting is also used for personal ornaments, the thread used for this purpose being generally made from *Anadendron* fibre.

The mode of netting is always the same. Netting needles are used, made from slips of bamboo or cane, and varying in size according to the work for which they are intended. The netting string or thread is wound on to this needle. For the foundation of the net a short

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[facing p. 78]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 shell also impart a more finished appearance to the vessel ere it is further engraved (*ō·inga-*) on both surfaces[1] in wavy, checked, or striped designs,[2] not, as has been assumed,[3] by the finger-nail, but by means of the pointed stick before mentioned. The potter then places the utensil in the sun to dry, or, if the weather be wet or cloudy, before a fire, taking care to alter its position from time to time so that all parts may be equally subjected to heat. When sufficiently hardened, he bakes it thoroughly by placing burning pieces of wood both inside and around the vessel; occasionally during this process the pot cracks, which of course renders it useless, but if this does not happen it is allowed to cool, and is then considered ready for use.

323 415 7. With good management a pot is ordinarily fit for use by the close of the day on which it is made. They may be said to be all of one quality and to differ only in size so as to be suitable for the use of a single family or a large party. The largest description is usually only to be seen in permanent encampments, the smaller kinds being taken when occasion arises for a migration, as for instance on account of a death,[4] or because arrangements have been made for an entertainment at some other place.[5] The medium size is almost invariably provided with a rough basket-work casing, which not only renders it more portable but also serves to protect it, in some measure, from the many accidents to which it is liable.

285 8. The pots ordinarily made will hold about nine pints, but the larger kinds possess double this capacity, while others again are no larger than half an ordinary cocoanut-shell; these last are employed in making *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*, and also when using it;[6] with this exception none of the vessels are reserved or manufactured for any special purpose, but serve alike for all times, whether for festivals, migrations, or ordinary occasions. No substitutes for

[1] Perhaps the original object of this practice may be explained by the conjecture contained in the following extract from Peschel's work:—"In examining the site of an old pottery manufactory of the Red Indians on the Cahokia, ... Carl Rau discovered half-finished vessels, that is to say, baskets of rushes or willow, lined inside with clay. When the vessel was baked the fire naturally consumed the external covering. . . . That the Europeans of prehistoric times also originally lined basket-work with clay, may be inferred from the decorations of vessels of the stone age. These decorations consist merely of rows of marks made with the finger-nail, as if to represent the traces left by the basket-work. When some bold individual began to shape the clay by hand, his earthen vessels were perhaps regarded as not genuine, or of inferior quality, as they had not originated in the time-honoured fashion; in order to meet these doubts he may have counterfeited the impressions of the rushes with his nail."

[2] *Vide* Plate V, for illustration of these.

[3] *Vide* de Röepstorff.

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.
Vide post "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 62.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

• 285 [824] **Basket-work.**—1. Among the few remaining industries of these savages on which I have a few words to say is that of basket-making: these baskets are invariably made from the best specimens of the common cane called *pī·dga-* which is similar to, if not identically the same as that ordinarily used by our basket-makers and chair-menders.

2. After removing the leaves, part of the cane is cut into lengths of 3½ or 4 feet, and the "skin" or cuticle is shredded off into strips ¼ or ⅓ inch wide; the remainder of the cane is split into as long pieces as possible, and the "skin" is cut into strips somewhat narrower than the others; shorter lengths of the canes form the "ribs" or "stakes," in and out of which the strips are woven or "slewed."

3. In order that the basket may stand steadily[1] it has always a "kick" like our bottles, and to construct this is of course the first object; when the stakes have been firmly secured in the centre, they are placed over a small hole scooped out of the ground, and the heel of the basket-maker is placed on them while the weaving is commenced; when it has been carried on to a breadth of 2 or 3 inches the heel is removed, the canes reversed, and the work proceeds in the ordinary way until within an inch of the required depth, where, for the sake of appearance, the interweaving is omitted: the handle is then formed out of a strip of the bark of the *Melochia velutina* (*al·aba-*); stripes of *tā·la-ōg-* and *kòi·ob-* are usually added by way of ornamentation;[2] no method of rendering them waterproof is known. Baskets are not converted into moulds for pottery; but sometimes, when travelling, earthen vessels are placed in a loose wicker casing, in order to protect them, and at the same time to facilitate their removal.

4. There is a marked difference[3] between the baskets made by the five *bō·jig* tribes and those manufactured by the *·yē·rewa-*; with the latter the work is more neatly finished, and the opening is small instead of being wide, as is the case among the former.[4]

5. Baskets are used for all sorts of purposes by men, women, and children, and, considering the rough usage to which they are subjected, last fairly well, for they seldom require to be renewed for several months: they are not used as strainers or colanders, the fine net (*chá·pangu-*) serving this purpose.

283 824 **String, &c.**—1. The Andamanese do not produce their stout cord (*bē·tma-*), string (*bē·tma-lā-*), or twine (*mō·la-*), from animal

[1] The *·jārawa-* baskets are generally small at the base, and having no "kick" are not usually able to stand unless placed between logs of wood or other objects.

[2] The rim of these baskets is formed of a piece of *Uvaria micrantha* (*ō·rta-tāt-*) round which one or more strips of the cane above described are neatly twined.

[3] The reader is referred to the excellent sketch of an Andamanese basket (*vide* Plate VII, fig. 17).

[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate C.

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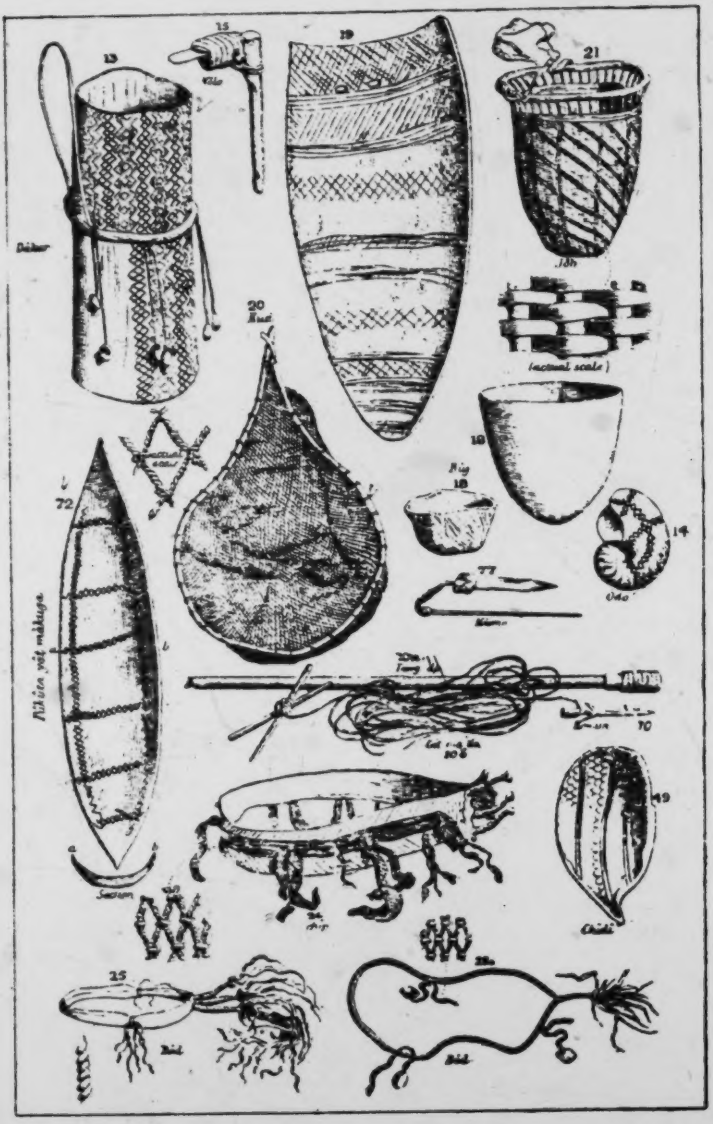

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

534 convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462 20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ôrta-tāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462 21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *.yērewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *.bōjig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jārawa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462 22. *châpanga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yōlba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pārepa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jārawa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462 24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate E.

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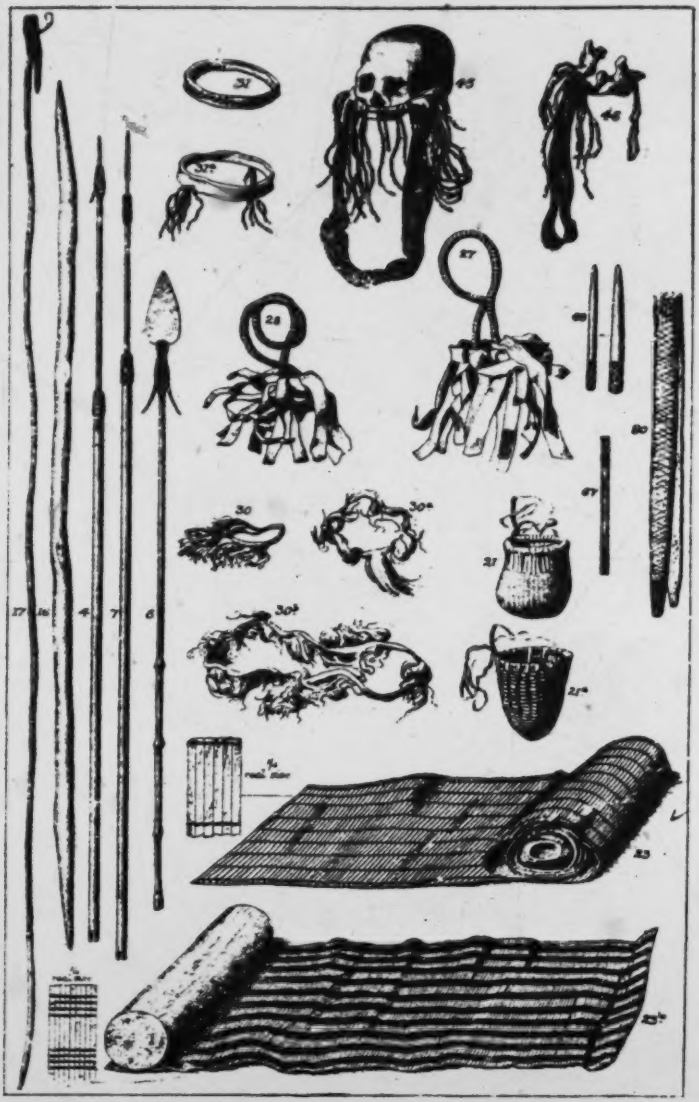

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS

[facing p. 186]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lă·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *ă·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yăt-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *ă·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are [462] made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encampment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a [462] description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epă-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kă·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kō·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ongе-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ongе-Jarawa, no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ongе-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ongе-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ongе-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ongе-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ongе-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302] [531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ongе-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ongе-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ongе-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

● [285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ongе-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ongе-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ongе-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ongе-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an old
piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described (see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however, the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, working the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as possible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the temporary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children, and what is to be carried.

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call *dangbecciò*, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died before he was able to do so.

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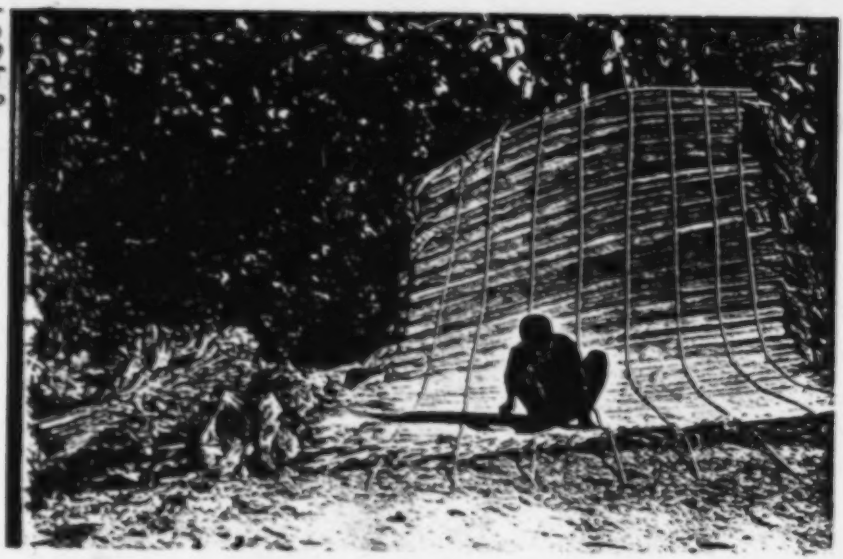

16 Making a roof section from palm fronds for a permanent dwelling

17 Completed permanent dwelling, which is also used for burial of the inhabitants

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[964]

[facing P. 66, K]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

completely lost the art of building them, probably by the same mechanism as the Jarawas, that is as a result of isolation in forest areas. The Semang sometimes prepare hasty bamboo rafts when they want to cross a river, however, and there do appear to be a few canoes among groups of Aetà living along the coasts. Facility of contact with neighbouring areas has brought about modification in both peoples, especially in the course of the last hundred years, whereas the complete isolation of the Andamans cannot be overstressed.

These later contacts, however, have not yet destroyed the ancient physical and cultural habits of the Semang and Aetà. The food of those who have remained nomadic in the forest still consists of roots, fruit, and whatever they can get by hunting and fishing. Some have certainly recently tended to settle, and have adopted a rude form of agriculture, but the rest have remained as primitive as the peoples of the Andamans, using digging sticks to get at the edible roots, and hooked sticks to get at the fruits on the trees. They do have axes with blades (now made of iron) which can split open tree-trunks to get at the honey inside or, when hafted on the end of a stick, to hollow out trunks to make vessels and clean off the exterior. But again, their bows and arrows, very similar to the ancient pattern, still remain their chief means of acquiring food.

The Negritos of Malacca and the Philippines make baskets, some of which are clearly copied from neighbouring peoples, while others correspond to the basketwork of the Andamans. The Onges, the finest of the Andaman basket workers, have two types of basket, one intended to last and one made purely for some temporary purpose. When they are on hunting or gathering trips outside Little Andaman they will hastily construct roughly made carriers for whatever they find. Anyone who saw, for example, these rough baskets on Rutland would assume reasonably enough that the Onge baskets are inferior to those of the peoples of Great Andaman, but in fact these purely temporary carriers, intended to be thrown away after their immediate use, are extremely well made. They are plaited over a frame of solid reeds, about two and a half centimetres in diameter, and split in half longways. The split reeds are arranged and tied in a star position to give the base and then bent upwards, the ends being joined to a circle of split reed, which forms the rim of the basket. Long ribbons of bark stripped from

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

285 anything handy are then woven over the frame, the size of the mesh being determined by the nature of the contents for which it is intended; the basket merely has to get the haul back to the camp, and is then thrown away. The real Onge baskets, however, are made with great care and are never carried on these expeditions. [191] They resemble the traditional Semang and Aetà baskets, now abandoned in favour of foreign types.

325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the